NOTES.

3 1. **To a Noble Lord.** Earl Fitzwilliam (1748–1833) was the nobleman to whom this letter was addressed. He was nephew and heir to the Marquis of Rockingham (from whom he inherited £40,000 a year), and was one of the largest landholders in Ireland. He was a Whig grandee, a traditional leader of that party of which Charlemont and Gratton were the representatives in Ireland. He conveyed most delicately to Burke, in a letter written immediately after his uncle's death, July 3, 1782, Lord Rockingham's desire that all Burke's indebtedness to him should be cancelled: "I must recollect myself. It was my duty to have informed you that certain bonds are cancelled by a codicil of his will. He felt merit as he ought to have done, and he never did an action in his life more acceptable to your sincere friend,

FITZWILLIAM."

3 3. **Duke of Bedford.** For the history of the Duke of Bedford and the House of Russell, see the Introduction.

3 4. **Earl of Lauderdale.** James Maitland, eighth Earl of Lauderdale, was born at Hatton House in the parish of Ratho, Midlothian, Jan. 26, 1759. He was educated at the high school and the University of Edinburgh, spent one term at Trinity College, Oxford, and another at Glasgow, and entered at Lincoln's Inn, Feb. 26, 1777. He was elected to Parliament for Newport, Cornwall. His maiden speech (Feb. 26, 1781) was in support of the second reading of Burke's bill for the regulation of the civil list establishments. In August, 1792, he visited France, accompanied by Dr. John Moore, the author of "Zeluco." He witnessed the attack on the Tuilleries, and made the acquaintance of Jean Pierre Brissot. He is said to have assumed "the rough costume of Jacobinism." He was violent, eccentric, and spoke with a Scotch accent. He was imposed upon by the Ireland forgeries of Shakespeare and signed the attestation in their favor. He married, Aug. 15, 1782, Eleanor, only child of Anthony Todd, and had four sons, who died un-

married. The second son, Anthony Maitland, tenth Earl of Lauderdale, died in 1863, and with him the English barony of Lauderdale became extinct, but the Scotch earldom devolved on a cousin, Thomas Maitland.

A daughter of James Maitland was married to James Balfour, and the distinguished statesman Arthur James Balfour is her grandson. See James Robertson, "Lady Blanche Balfour, a Reminiscence," Edinburgh and London, 1897.

3 9. **The New Sect**: the body of persons holding the doctrines of the French revolutionists, whether speaking English or French.

3 13. **Duke of Orleans** (1747–93). Louis Philippe Joseph, Duke of Orleans, married the only daughter and heiress of the Duke of Penthievre, grand admiral of France. With her enormous wealth, which made him the richest man in France, he lived a life of cynical debauchery. He visited London and introduced in Paris a fondness for English sports, particularly horse racing (see Cowper's "Task," bk. ii, ll. 250–285). In various ways he displayed his liberalism. He headed the minority of forty-seven noblemen who seceded from their own estate and joined the Tiers État. The "gold of Orleans" was said to be the cause of the taking of the Bastille. He accepted the title of Citoyen Égalité, conferred on him by the Commune of Paris, and was elected deputy for Paris to the Convention. He voted for the death of the king. Suspicion fell upon him, and he was guillotined during the Reign of Terror (Nov. 6, 1793).

3 14. **Jean Pierre Brissot** (1754–93) was the author of certain works on the philosophy of law. He was a disciple of Rousseau, and was continually occupied with humanitarian schemes which he promoted in pamphlets and journals. As an agent of the "Society of the Friends of the Blacks," he visited America, but returned to France at the outbreak of the Revolution. In the National Assembly he was a Girondist or *Brissotin*. He was guillotined Oct. 31, 1793.

3 25. **Joseph Priestley** (1733–1804), the Unitarian philosopher and scientist, was a native of the West Riding of Yorkshire. He dwelt upon speculative theology, compiled a "History of the Corruptions of Christianity," and engaged in polemic controversy at the same time that he was making chemical experiments and enjoying, in Birmingham, the friendship of the Lunar Society or Soho Circle — of Watt and Boulton and Darwin. He discovered oxygen and investigated the nature of gases. His open and hearty sympathy with the French revolutionists made him unpopular, and in 1791, upon the anniversary of the fall of the Bastille, a mob destroyed his chapel and house. His

last years were spent in Pennsylvania at Northumberland upon the Susquehanna.

3 25. **Thomas Paine** (1736–1809), the author of "Rights of Man" and "Age of Reason," was the son of a Quaker staymaker in Norfolk, and came to America with letters of introduction from Franklin. His paper "The Crisis" restored courage to the fainting troops at Valley Forge. His pamphlet entitled "Common Sense" "passed through the continent like an electric spark. It everywhere flashed conviction, and aroused a determined spirit, which resulted in the Declaration of Independence upon the 4th of July ensuing. The name of Paine was dear to every Whig heart, and had resounded throughout Europe" (Elkanah Watson). "Rights of Man," dedicated to Washington, was an answer to Burke's "Reflections on the French Revolution." It had an enormous circulation, though the government tried to suppress it. Paine was indicted for treason, but, being elected by Calais to the French Convention, he was allowed to leave England under sentence of outlawry.

4 6. **William Wyndham Grenville** (1759–1834), son of George Grenville, first Lord of the Treasury (1763–65), was a cousin of Pitt and a brother of the Marquis of Buckingham. He was successively Speaker of the House of Commons (1789), Secretary of State (1789), and Secretary of Foreign Affairs (1791). He was a scholar and chancellor of the University of Oxford. He edited the "Letters of the Earl of Chatham to Thomas Pitt" (1804), and privately printed an annotated edition of Homer and "Nugae Metricae" (1824). Lord Grenville replied to the Duke of Bedford's attack, in the House of Lords, and William Windham defended Burke in the Commons.

4 25. **John Zisca,** the military hero of the Hussites, or Moravians, was born near Budweis in Bohemia about 1360. He strongly fortified Mount Tabor and won many victories over the Imperial troops. He was blind of an eye, but was a resourceful, zealous leader. It is not the only occasion upon which Burke alludes to him; in a speech in 1782 he compared Fox to Zisca.

4 34. **Lord Verulam.** For Francis Bacon's theory which Burke refers to here, see "Novum Organum," bk. i, Aphorisms 79, 80; bk. ii, 17, 29; "Advancement of Learning," bk. ii; and "De. Aug. Sci.," bk. iii, ch. i.

5 7. **Though hardly to be classed with the living.** "His health, though not intellectual powers, had been for some time in a declining state, which terminated in such debility and loss of muscular energy as to render motion and his usual exercise impracticable. To this state

of unexpected if not premature decay, his habits of application, literary pursuits, and former laborious Parliamentary exertions no doubt tended. The stomach very imperfectly and painfully performed its office, and emaciation ensued. . . . And when the loss of his son destroyed that buoyancy of hope so long and fondly entertained of witnessing his success in life, no active principle of vitality remained to counteract the inroads of infirmity" (Prior, "Life of Burke," p. 448).

5 19. **Unplumb the dead for bullets.** That is, literally, "stripping the dead of their leaden coffins after making them (not the dead, but the coffins) into bullets — a circumstance perfectly notorious at the time this 'Letter' was written." The real significance of the passage seems to have been misunderstood, and certain errors of interpretation furnished material for satire to the writers of the *Anti-Jacobin*. Thus Robert Adair in an answer to Burke writes: "If Mr. Burke had been content with unplumbing a dead Russell and hewing HIM (observe — not the coffin, but HIM — the old dead Russell himself) into grape and canister to sweep down the whole generation of his descendants," etc. The comment of the editor of the *Anti-Jacobin* upon this extraordinary criticism is that the writer "transmutes the illustrious Head of the house of Russell into a metal to which it is not for us to say how near or how remote his affinity may possibly have been" ("Poetry of Anti-Jacobin," p. 53, 2d ed., London, 1800).

5 24. **Call up the prophetic dead:** see I Sam. xxviii, 11–20.

6 3. **A total retreat.** Burke had announced his intention of leaving the House of Commons as soon as he had brought to an end the prosecution of Hastings. He had hardly applied for the Chiltern Hundreds when his son, Richard Burke, died (August, 1794).

6 18. **Assuage the sorrows.** Gillray published a caricature (Feb. 26, 1796) called, "Pity the sorrows of a poor old man," presenting a view of the entrance to Bedford House, Bloomsbury.

6 27. **The London Corresponding Society** was an organization founded by Thomas Hardy, the shoemaker, in 1792, to unite the scattered forces of liberalism.

7 29. **Old Palace Yard** was southwest of the Houses of Parliament. There the pillory stood, and there Sir Walter Raleigh was beheaded. In the southeast corner stood the house through which the Gunpowder Plot conspirators carried their powder barrels into the vault, and on this spot Guy Fawkes and three of his fellow conspirators were executed (1606). New Palace Yard is the space enclosed within the gilded railings in front of Westminster Hall. Here Perkin Warbeck was set in the stocks, William Prynne and Leighton and Oates were pilloried.

7 30. **The Dukes and Earls of Brentford.** The two kings of Brentford appear in Buckingham's satiric farce, "The Rehearsal." They enter hand in hand, smelling at the same nosegay, dance, sing, and walk together, 'like Juno's swans coupled and inseparable.' "The Rehearsal" is a composite work, largely written by George Villiers, second Duke of Buckingham, who

> In the course of one revolving moon
> Was chymist, fiddler, statesman and buffoon.
>
> DRYDEN.

8 8. **Few and idle years.** At this time the Duke of Bedford was thirty years old.

8 10. **Quantum meruit:** "as much as he deserved." It is a legal phrase, an action founded on an engagement that the defendant would pay to the plaintiff "as much as his services should deserve."

8 11. **Poor rich man.** William Cobbett in his preface to the American edition of the "Letter to a Noble Lord," Philadelphia, 1796, writes: "This Letter, besides its other merits, contains a most excellent lesson for the 'poor rich men' in this country. When I read of the Duke of Bedford presiding at a revolutionary club, I am naturally led to compare him to the poor rich merchants and others we sometimes see hoisted on town-meeting stage, stirring up king mob to gut their stores and burn their houses. These wealthy *sans-culottes* are here exactly what the Duke of Bedford is in England. Like him, their all depends on the stability of the government, and yet, like him, they are endeavoring to shake it to the ground. Mr. Burke tells this poor innocent Duke, that the cut-throat Philosophers would laugh at his parchment and his wax; and would they not do the same here? . Take care then, you rich, fat-brained, round-headed demagogues, you American Dukes of Bedford; take care, for you will be the first that will fall a sacrifice to the principles you propagate."

8 25. **Quantities incommensurable.** Burke was at Beaconsfield when he wrote this "Letter." His friend Dr. French Laurence, one of the most learned civilians of the day, superintended the publication in London. "Some of the learned civilian's clients would not have been pleased, on seeing him, in his old wig and gown, bending over his papers in court, and, as they imagined, carefully watching over their interests, if they had known that when he looked the gravest and seemed most absorbed just before rising to speak, he was really correcting a proof of the 'Letter to a Noble Lord,' or hurriedly writing a note to Burke on the subject in order to be in time to save the post" (MacKnight, "Life and Times of Edmund Burke," vol. iii, p. 653).

Laurence's correspondence with Burke concerning changes and corrections in the text has been published under the title "Epistolary Correspondence of Edmund Burke and Dr. Laurence," London, 1827. Laurence objected to the phrase "quantities incommensurable," which he considered to be "a little mathematical inaccuracy" ("Correspondence," p. 39). Burke accepted his friend's alteration, but added in explanation, "Geometrically the term is proper enough — that is called *simply* and without relation, an incommensurable quantity or line which has no common measure or common aliquot part to measure it with some other. Everything to be measured with another must certainly refer to that to which it is to be measured, and this finds whether it be or be not commensurable — but I am sure it is common to use the term alone and absolute, because the usual reference is known, as the side of a square is incommensurable with the diagonal. It was a relation of course to the lines before spoken of. But it is perhaps less reconcilable to moral than to geometrical propriety. However, arrogant as it may seem, it is no way uncommon to say, that such or such a thing as I do, for such or such a person, or on such or such a motive, is what no money could make me undertake — or such as no money could compensate to me" ("Correspondence," p. 42).

It will be seen that Burke had grasped the fundamental conceptions of the mathematics, and had illustrated his thought by a theory of services so continuous and so great as not to be measured by anything divisible into aliquot parts. In the thirteenth edition the reading is: "Between money and service of this kind (I said it long since when I was not myself concerned) there is no common measurer."

8 29. **More than sufficient.** In writing to Dr. Laurence, Burke said that his "Letter" was in "discharge of the debt I think due to my own and to my son's memory, and to those who ought not to be considered prodigal in giving me what is beyond my merits, but not beyond my debts, as you know. The public — I won't dispute longer about it — has overpaid me. I wish I could overpay my creditors. They eat deep on what was designed to maintain me" ("Correspondence," p. 43).

9 4. **One style to a gracious benefactor.** Burke wrote "one *language for* a gracious benefactor, another for a proud and insulting foe." William Windham, Secretary-at-War, who, like Dr. Laurence, read the proof-sheets, feared that the expression would be misunderstood. He thought the Jacobins might say, "He is a man of a double tongue with two opposite languages for the same thing." At Windham's request, transmitted to Burke by Dr. Laurence, that the idea should be a little more opened, Burke wrote, "Can anything in the world be more com-

mon than to use disqualifying phrases with regard to your friends when they are treating you with kindness, and to use the very contrary to enemies that crush you? — 'I don't deserve, my dear Laurence, that you should take all this trouble for me in the midst of your pressing business' — would this be a proper answer for those who should say I was unworthy of having this done?" ("Correspondence," p. 42). Burke, however (or Laurence for him), changed *language* to *style.* Does the change relieve the passage of the fault that Windham indicated?

9 8. **My conduct with regard to economy.** Burke's participation in Economical Reform in 1782 is thus described by the Earl of Stanhope: "A Message was brought down to both Houses from the King recommending an effectual plan of retrenchment and economy, to be carried through all branches of the Public Expenditure and to include His Majesty's own Civil List. Lord Shelburne who moved the Address of Thanks in the Peers, would undertake, he said, to pledge himself, that the present was not as usual a mere Ministerial Address; 'it was the genuine language of the Sovereign himself, proceeding from the heart.' In the House of Commons Burke was lavish of his praises. 'This,' he cried, 'is the best of Messages to the best of people from the best of Kings!' But though Burke might be blamed for the exuberance of his panegyric, he incurred far heavier censure shortly afterwards by the curtailment of his Bill. When his measure was brought in, it was found to spare several of those institutions against which he had inveighed with the greatest energy two years before. Thus, besides a host of smaller affairs, once denounced and now reclaimed, both the Duchies of Cornwall and of Lancaster were left wholly unreformed. Some of these modifications in his original design might no doubt be prompted by Burke's own maturer thoughts; in others, it is probable that he was merely called on to fulfil the decisions of the cabinet in which he had no share. Here was one of the many evils of excluding that great genius from the Councils of the State.

"Among the offices to be abolished by this bill was that of the third Secretary of State, or of Secretary of State for the Colonies, which it was thought useless to keep when the colonies themselves were gone. The Lords of Trade and Plantations, the Lords of Police in Scotland, the principal officers of the Great Wardrobe and of the Jewel Office, the Treasurer of the Chambers, and the Cofferer of the Household, and the six clerks of the Board of Green Cloth were, with other rubbish, swept away. It was promised that no pension exceeding three

hundred pounds a year should be granted to any one person, — that the whole amount of the pensions granted in any one year should not exceed six hundred pounds, — until the whole Pension List should be reduced to £90,000. There were also most praiseworthy regulations to secure the Secret Service Money from abuses by limiting its amount and imposing a strict oath on the Secretaries of State who dispensed it. (It is to the difficulties with which Burke struggled in this bill that he refers when he says, "I was loaded with hatred for everything that was withheld, and with obloquy for everything that was given." — Ed.) To Burke's high honor, we must add that he was far from sparing his own office. On the contrary, he brought in a separate bill to regulate the Paymaster's department and prevent enormous balances from accumulating in his hands, as had often happened heretofore, to the great profit of the holder of that place. . . . This measure, dignifying and dignified by the great name of Burke, as it seems to a later age, passed the House of Commons at the time certainly with little or no resistance from his enemies, but with quite as little celebration from his friends. In July it reached the Peers, where Lord Thurlow found great fault with it, and again did his utmost to defeat his colleagues, — happily, however, in vain" (Lord Mahon's "History of England from the Peace of Utrecht to the Peace of Versailles," 3d ed., vol. vii, pp. 163–165).

9 27. The retrenchments which the act effected, though curtailed, amounted to upwards of £72,000 a year. The arrears upon the Civil List at this time were about £300,000.

10 14. **Astronomers have supposed.** The comet referred to was unquestionably that subsequently known as Halley's comet, the first of all the clan of comets to have its periodic return predicted and verified. Dr. Edmund Harvey, moved to a study of cometary orbits by Newton's brilliant discovery of the law of gravitation, had found one of the historic comets returning to visibility at least on five different occasions after an interval of about seventy-five years. More remarkable still, the inequality of this period — it being now less, and now greater than that just stated — led Halley to consider the perturbative action of the larger planets, and finally to venture a prediction of the return of the same comet in the latter part of the year 1858. It was of this comet, then known as the great comet of 1680, and whose motions, disturbed by the attraction of Jupiter, had excited absorbing interest, that Halley made the astonishing statement that its perihelion distance had been only 590,000 miles, and that at the time of its crossing the earth's orbit at descending node the comet was only distant a semi-

diameter of the sun, or 440,000 miles, from the earth's path, and that if the comet had been delayed thirty-one days (or had met the earth in Cancer), it would have been a philosophical question as to what might have happened.

The careful and thoroughly scientific statements of Halley regarding the comet of 1680 were, however, taken up by William Whiston, the astronomical successor of Newton, and made the basis of several theories now remarkable only for their absurdity and as emanating from the Cambridge professor of astronomy.

Whiston attributed the deluge to a cometary collision, and invented the conception that the erratic worlds known as comets were the residence of the damned. According to this Whiston theory, a comet was the awful prison-house in which the wretched tenants were alternately wheeled into the remotest regions of cold and darkness and into the very vicinity of the sun with its overpowering light and devouring fire. It is this theory of Whiston that Burke hints at in the closing phrase, and it is more than probable that it was from Whiston that Burke absorbed the statement so curiously quoted.

10 19. From his horrid hair
Shakes pestilence and war.
"Paradise Lost," II, 710.

10 20. With fear of change
Perplexes monarchs.
"Paradise Lost," I, 598.

10 26. **Jacobinized.** The Jacobin Club was a society of French revolutionists — gentlemen and men of letters — who met in 1789 in the Jacobin Convent in Paris. The club was soon controlled by the more violent and hysterical of the revolutionary leaders, with Robespierre foremost. Similar societies were organized in the principal towns of France. The club was suppressed in November, 1794.

10 28. Cf. Introduction, p. xix.

10 30. **"Wild and savage insurrection."** During the first week of June, 1780, occurred the Lord George Gordon "No Popery" riots. Lord George gave notice in the House of Commons May 26, 1780, that on the second of June he would present a petition against toleration of Roman Catholics, signed by a hundred thousand men who would accompany him to the House. On Friday 2d of June he harangued a mob of forty thousand in St. George's Fields, after which, under the name of the Protestant Association, they marched six abreast over London Bridge and through the city to Old Palace Yard. Two Catholic chapels were set on fire before the crowd dispersed at night. For

nearly six days the mob, crying "No popery," plundered and burnt. Sir George Savile's and Lord Mansfield's houses were destroyed, and Lord Sandwich was with difficulty rescued from the hands of the populace. Newgate Prison was burnt to the ground and the prisoners released. Two attacks were made upon the Bank of England, but the soldiers repulsed the mob. The loss of property was estimated at £180,000. Two hundred and ten of the rioters were killed, and two hundred and forty-eight wounded. Lord George Gordon was committed to the Tower and tried for high treason, but acquitted, as there was sufficient evidence that he was, as Burke pronounces him here, a madman. His pertinacious opposition to both parties in the House gave rise to the saying that there were three parties in Parliament,—the Ministry, the Opposition, and Lord George Gordon.

l 10. **Death dance.** During the Reign of Terror (1793-94) a Piedmontese song and dance called the *Carmagnole* became popular. It was "the death dance of democratic revolution." The bombastic style cultivated by the pamphleteers of the Revolution was also called *Carmagnole.* And the soldiers in the Revolutionary Army came to be dubbed in the same manner.

l 18. **National Convention.** See H. Morse Stephens, "History of the French Revolution," vol. ii, pp. 151 and 517.

l 26. **Frederick North,** second Earl of Guildford, better known as Lord North, was born April 13, 1732, educated at Eton and at Christ Church, Oxford, and elected to Parliament for Banbury when twenty-two years of age. On the fall of the first Rockingham ministry he was made paymaster-general by the Duke of Grafton. His "wit and pleasantry" and his "delightful temper" made him popular with the House and with the people. He succeeded the Duke of Grafton in the premiership in March, 1770, and continued in office for twelve years. "The English nation," says Leslie Stephen, "which had a Burke and a Chatham amongst its statesmen, had to be governed by a North, in humble submission to the gross stupidity of a George III." The king, who had acquired control over the great Whig families, needed a minister who would unquestionably do his will. And such an one he found in Lord North. After the surrender at Yorktown Lord North resigned, but in April, 1783, formed a coalition with Fox and the Duke of Portland. Fox's India Bill, which was really drawn by Burke, was the cause of the overthrow of the coalition, and Lord North withdrew from public life. He died August 5, 1792.

See "The Correspondence of George III with Lord North." Ed. by W. Bodham Donne, 2 vols., 1867.

12 4. **Ipse diem.** "Æneid," iii, 201, 202: "Palinurus himself declared that he could not distinguish night from day in the heavens, and that he did not remember the course in the midst of the sea."

13 21. **To forward those abilities:** a reference to Charles James Fox.

13 22. **Undertaker:** a projector or promoter. The word, like "casket," has unhappily taken on a peculiar and sombre meaning. Sir William Siemens (1823–83), a native of Hanover and ignorant of English, visited an "undertaker" under the idea that he was the proper person to take up and dispose of his invention.

13 25. **In that period of difficulty.** After a long digression upon his habit and principle of deriving all aid from others Burke resumed his immediate subject with — "In that period of difficulty and danger *then*," etc. The word "*then*" seemed to Dr. Laurence too feeble a reference and conviction. "I have put it," he writes, "more pointedly, and to make it more so have introduced a word 'ever' into the preceding sentence." Notice the effect of this slight change in recovering the thread of discourse.

16 10–19. This Ciceronian period is a good example of the style that Burke admired and strove to attain. Sir Philip Francis, writing to Lord Holland, says that Cicero was "the model on which he [Burke] labored to form his own character, in eloquence, in policy, in ethics and philosophy." See Dilke, "Papers of a Critic," p. 311. Compare this sentence of Burke's with the following from Cicero's oration upon Archias: "Nam ceterae neque temporum sunt neque aetatum omnium neque locorum: haec studia adulescentiam alunt, senectutem oblectant, secundas res ornant, adversis perfugium ac solatium praebent, delectant domi, non impediunt foris, pernoctant nobiscum, peregrinantur, rusticantur."

16 22. **All monstrous, all prodigious things.** "Paradise Lost," bk. ii, 625.

Cuckoo-like. The cuckoo lays its eggs in other birds' nests.

> For you know nuncle
> The hedge-sparrow fed the cuckoo so long
> That its had it head bit off by it young.
>
> "King Lear," I, iv, 235.

16 24. **These obscene harpies.** "Æneid," vi, 289.

16 note. **Tristius haud illis.** "Æneid," iii, 214–218.

> So foul a plague for human crime
> Ne'er issued from the Stygian slime, —

A maid above, a bird below,
Noisome and foul the belly's flow,
The hands are taloned. Famine bleak
Sits ever ghastly on the cheek.

CONINGTON'S translation.

17 4. "Hamlet," III, iv, 48–51.

Heaven's face doth glow,
Yea, this solidity and compound mass,
With tristful visage, as against the doom,
Is thought-sick at the act.

18 7. **I heaved the lead.** Notice the figure. Much of Burke's nautical knowledge came from his acquaintance with Admiral Keppel.

19 16. **Four and a half per cents.** The Leeward Islands, from whence the four and one-half per cent fund proceeded, had been first granted to an Earl of Marlborough and they had afterwards become the property of a Lord Carlisle. Finally, a Lord Willoughby had obtained leave to go out with settlers on payment to Lord Carlisle of one-half of every profit that might be made. They came at last back to the crown in consequence of a resignation from Lord Kinnoul, a successor of Lord Carlisle. So early as 1663 certain duties of four and a half per cent were granted by the assemblies of inhabitants for the first time for the defense and fortification of the islands. In 1701 an inquiry took place in the House of Commons on the subject of the misapplication of the product of that fund, grounded on a petition presented by the merchants and planters of Barbadoes and connected with the other islands in question, and in consequence of an instruction from a committee of the House, an address was moved to request her Majesty to give orders to have the produce of the fund appropriated to the original purposes; an answer was received from Mr. Secretary Vernon approving of the design, and an act was at length passed placing the fund upon its proper footing and limiting it to its proper objects ("Parliamentary History," 32, 855). No pension had been settled upon this fund until that of Lord Chatham. It was at one time proposed to provide for Lord Auckland out of it, but the great seal was never affixed to it.

19 33. **My publications.** In the "Advertisement to the Reader" prefixed to vol. iv of the collected works of Edmund Burke (London, 1802) — being vol. i of the posthumous works — the editors write: "The late Mr. Burke from a principle of unaffected humility, which they who were the most intimately acquainted with his character, best know to have been in his estimation one of the most important moral duties,

never himself made any collection of the various publications with which during a period of forty years he adorned and enriched the literature of this country. When, however, the rapid and unexampled demand for his 'Reflexions on the Revolution of France' had unequivocally testified his celebrity as a writer, some of his friends so far prevailed upon him, that he permitted them to put forth a regular edition of his works. Accordingly three volumes in quarto appeared under that title in 1792, printed for the late Mr. Dodsley."

At his death Burke committed his papers to the care of Dr. F. Laurence and Dr. W. King (Bishop of Rochester). The posthumous works were completed in eight volumes in 1827.

20 15. **St. Stephen's** is sometimes used as a synonym for Parliament. It was a chapel built by King Stephen about 1135. After its surrender to Edward VI about 1548 it was applied to the uses of Parliament. Lord Lytton has a fine poem "St. Stephen's" (March, 1860) dedicated to Lord Lyndhurst.

21 7. **Political economy** did not originate in England, as Burke supposes, but in Italy; the first chair for the teaching of economy was established at Naples. In the seventeenth century in England political economy was little more than practical politics. Locke and his contemporaries in their discussion of questions of money developed what might be called a mercantile school of political economy. The epoch-making "Wealth of Nations" was published by Adam Smith in 1776. Burke is referring to an earlier time when his own studies anticipated those of Smith. "Burke," said Adam Smith, "is the only man I ever knew who thinks on economic subjects exactly as I do without any previous communication having passed between us" (Bisset, "Life of Burke," vol. ii, 429). "In political knowledge Burke was a millionnaire" (Goldwin Smith, *Cornhill Magazine*, vol. lxxiv, 21).

21 22. **Nitor in adversum:** I make my way against opposition.

> Nitor in adversum, nec me, qui caetera vincit
> Impetus, et rapido contrarius evehor orbi.
>
> OVID, "Met.," ii, 72.

22 33. **Barré and Dunning.** In July, 1782, Lord Shelburne was put at the head of the ministry. The Rockingham party resigned, and Burke was succeeded by Colonel Barré, Fox by Thomas Townshend, and Lord John Cavendish by William Pitt. A caricature by Sayer entitled "Paradise Lost" represents Fox and Burke cast out of the ministerial paradise, the gate of which is surmounted by the faces of Shelburne, Barré, and Dunning. Under Lord Shelburne's adminis-

tration, John Dunning (1731–83) accepted a pension of £4000 a year; Barré's pension of £3000 a year was the cause of much complaint by the Tories, who compared it with the poor reward given to Rodney for his victory (April 12, 1782) over DeGrasse. Sayer compared Barré to Belisarius:

> Rome's veteran fought her rebel foes
> And thrice her empire saved;
> Yet through her streets, bow'd down with woes,
> An humble pittance craved.
>
> Our soldier fought a better fight,
> Political contention;
> And grateful ministers requite
> His service with a pension.

22 34. **John Dunning** was an attorney with a lucrative practice. He was counsel for Wilkes. In 1776 his practice is said to have been worth £10,000 per annum. Shortly before his death he was promoted to the peerage as Baron Ashburton.

While the Bill for Economical Reform was still pending "between the proposition and the execution" of Burke's plan, Lord Rockingham consented to grant the large pensions before mentioned to Lord Ashburton and Barré. This last was above ten times the amount "which in Lord Rockingham's own judgment, as expressed in the new bill, ought henceforth to be granted to any one person whatsoever!" Lord Shelburne in the House of Peers produced a letter showing that the first proposal of this enormous pension had come from Lord Rockingham himself. This is the explanation of Burke's declaration: "I was thus left to support the grants of a name ever dear to me," etc.

24 1. **Parsimony is not economy.** In 1780 Burke outlined his plan of economical reform: "While enforcing the necessity of frugality, and recommending to the minister the old and valuable Roman apothegm, *magnum vectigal est parsimonia*, he made a false quantity, rendering the second word *vēctĭgal*. Lord North in a low tone corrected the error, when the orator with his usual presence of mind, turned the mistake to advantage. 'The Noble Lord,' said he, 'hints that I have erred in the quantity of a principal word in my quotation; I rejoice at it; because it gives me an opportunity of repeating the inestimable adage,' and with increased energy he thundered forth — '*Magnum vect-ī-gal est parsimonia*'" (Prior, "Life of Burke," p. 184).

25 33. **Sans-culottes**: literally, "without breeches"; the designation of the poor Parisians, in dirty and negligent attire, who took part in the early stages of the Revolution.

26 6. **Mr. John Thelwall** (1764–1834) was a political agitator and intrepid democrat, who was tried with John Horne Tooke, the radical candidate for Westminster, and Thomas Hardy, the founder of the London Corresponding Society, for treason, and was acquitted, 1794. He was a lecturer on elocution. His poems were unfavorably reviewed by Francis Jeffrey in the *Edinburgh Review*, ii, 197, and Thelwall replied to the reviewer, — "A Letter to Mr. Francis Jeffrey," Edinburgh, 1804.

Coleridge knew him well, and characterized him as "intrepid, eloquent, and honest." Coleridge showed him the romantic Alfoxden glen, and said, "Citizen John, this is a fine place to talk treason in!" "Nay! Citizen Samuel," he replied, "it is rather a place to make a man forget that there is any necessity for treason" (Coleridge's "Table Talk," July 26, 1830).

Thelwall published a reply to the "Letter to a Noble Lord," entitled "Sober Reflections on the Seditious and Inflammatory Letter of the Right Honorable Edmund Burke to a Noble Lord," London, 1796.

26 12. **Cludere ludum impudentiae jussit.** "At nunc adulescentuli nostri deducuntur in *scholas istorum* qui rhetores vocantur, quos paulo ante Ciceronis tempora extitisse nec placuisse maioribus nostris ex eo manifestum est, quod Crasso et Domitio censoribus cludere, ut ait Cicero, **ludum impudentiae** jussi sunt" (Tacitus, "Dialogus de Oratoribus," C. 35).

"L. Licinius Crassus, the orator and Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus were *censors* in 92 B.C. This edict has also been preserved by Gellius and by Suetonius" (Alfred Gudeman, Ed. 'Tacitus,' 1894).

Professor Gudeman also notes that the phrase 'ludum impudentiae' is cited from "Cic. de orat.," iii, 24, 93 ff., when Crassus justifies his course in this affair at some length.

Bohn translates the lines of Tacitus: "On the other hand our modern youth are sent to the mountebank schools of certain declaimers called rhetoricians; a set of men who made their first appearance in Rome a little before the time of Cicero. And that they were by no means approved by our ancestors plainly appears from their being enjoined under the censorship of Crassus and Domitius to shut up their *schools of impudence* as Cicero expresses it."

27 3. **Homer sometimes nods.** Horace, "Ars Poet.," 359.

> Quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus
> Verum operi longo fas est obrepere somnum.

[Sometimes even the good Homer nods. But in so long a work it is allowable if there should be a drowsy interval or so.]

27 8. "Tempest," IV, i, 157.

> We are such stuff
> As dreams are made on, and our little life
> Is rounded with a sleep.

27 13. **Leviathan:** cf. Job xli, Isa. xxvii, 1.

> Wend we by sea? the drad Leviathan
> Turns upside-down the boyling ocean.
>
> SYLVESTER, trans. of Du Bartas.

> That sea beast
> Leviathan, which God of all his works
> Created hugest that swim the ocean stream.
>
> "Paradise Lost," I, 201.

27 16. **"Lay floating many a rood,"** "Paradise Lost," bk. i, 196. The Duke of Bedford's friends sharply criticised this singular image of the whale. They declared Burke's description to be inaccurate, and "that the blubber and fins of a whale could not be correctly referred to as being visible while the ponderous creature was supinely floating in the deep." Burke's friend Mrs. Crewe called upon Windham to establish the accuracy of Burke's description; whereupon Burke wrote to her: "As to you, you are in a worse situation than the dependants on insolent great ladies. They swallow nothing but toads, but you who play court to us scribblers must swallow whales, blubber and all. To a lady of Greenland, however, this would be no penalty. You were in the right to appeal to Windham. He is the only gentleman in England who ever was on a whale fishery. He knows how to stick a harpoon in their blubber better than any one. However, his stomach could not stand the blubber-ship, and he got on shore in Norway" ("Correspondence," vol. iv, p. 335). [Windham accompanied Mulgrave's Expedition to Greenland — Nelson was with the same fleet, a midshipman on the *Carcass* — but was taken sea-sick and landed in Norway. — Ed.]

28 22. **Herald's college,** or college of arms, is a royal corporation instituted and endowed by Richard III, 1483. Its privileges were enlarged and confirmed by letters-patent, 1554. The college has an earl-marshal, three kings-at-arms (namely **Garter, Clarencieux,** and **Norroy**), six heralds (Richmond, Lancaster, Chester, Windsor, Somerset, and York), four pursuivants, and two extra heralds. Its chief business is the granting of coats-of-arms and the tracing of genealogies. The earl-marshal of England, the eighth great officer of state, is the Duke of Norfolk.

28 24. The **Garter** King-at-arms is the principal king; the other two are called provincial kings, — their duties being confined to the provinces, — **Clarencieux**, the second royal herald, officiating south of the Trent, and **Norroy's** jurisdiction lying to the north. The Clarencieux was originally herald to the Duke of Clarence. Norroy is derived from *nord*, north, and *roy*, king.

Rouge Dragon, one of the pursuivants of the herald's college, so called from the arms of Henry VII. The other three pursuivants are the Rouge Croix (from the red cross of St. George), Blue-Mantle (in allusion to the robes of the Order of the Garter), and the Portcullis (so called from his distinctive badge).

28 28. **Blazoner** is a herald who explains the arms or bearings upon a shield.

28 32. **Milk of human kindness.** "Macbeth," I, v, 18.

29 4. **John Churchill,** Duke of **Marlborough** (1650–1722), the victor of Blenheim. William Cecil, Lord **Burleigh** (1520–98), minister to Queen Elizabeth. **William Murray,** Earl of Mansfield (1705–93), the founder of English mercantile law. **Philip Yorke,** first Earl of Hardwicke (1690–1764), "One of the greatest Judges that ever sat in Westminster Hall," says Lord Elden.

29 7. **John Guillim** (1565–1621), Rouge-Croix pursuivant of arms (1617–21). He published and added to Barcham's "Display of Heraldry," London, 1610.

Joseph Edmondson was appointed Mowbray-Herald Extraordinary in 1764. He published several large volumes of heraldry and genealogy, notably "A Complete Body of Heraldry," 1780, 2 vols. ff. He died in 1786.

Arthur Collins (1682–1760) compiled a "Peerage of England," 1st ed., London, 1709, which was augmented and continued to 1812 by Sir Egerton Brydges. He compiled huge genealogical collections of the noble families of England.

29 11. **Aulnager,** or alnager, a sworn officer appointed to examine and attest the measurement and quality of woolen goods (Murray).

29 20. **The first peer of the name.** For the history of John Russell, see the Introduction. John Russell may have been "a person of an ancient gentleman's family"; but, although much labor has been expended in tracing the pedigree, it still lacks historic proof. See J. H. Wiffen, "Historical Memoirs of the House of Russell," 2 vols., London, 1833, and "The Great Governing Families of England," vol. ii, Edinburgh, 1865.

32 9. **Boulogne** was taken by Henry VIII, Sept. 14, 1544, but restored for a consideration in 1550. **Calais** was taken by the Duke of

Guise, Jan. 7, 1558. Queen Mary, who died November 17 of the same year, is reported to have said, "When I am dead Calais will be found written on my heart."

32 32. **Curses not loud but deep.** "Macbeth," V, iii, 27.

34 note. **Fata Neroni:**

> Quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni
> Invenere viam, magnoque aeterna parantur
> Regna Deis, caelumque suo servire Tonanti
> Non nisi saevorum potuit post bella gigantum;
> Jam nihil, O Superi, querimur: Scelera ipsa, ne fasque
> Hac mercede placent.
>
> LUCAN, "Pharsalia," i, 33.

> But if our Fates severely have decreed
> No way but this for Nero to succeed;
> If only thus our Heroes can be Gods,
> And Earth must pay for their divine Abodes;
> If Heav'n could not the Thunderer obtain,
> 'Till Giants' Wars made room for Jove to reign,
> 'T is just, ye Gods, nor ought we to complain.
>
> NICHOLAS ROWE'S translation, 1753.

35 9.

> All unfortunate souls
> That trace him in his line.
>
> "Macbeth," IV, i, 153.

35 23–32. The perfect melody, solemn cadences, and tear-compelling pathos of this passage — no whit undervalued to tried gold — place it among the masterpieces of prose construction.

36 8. **I am alone.** "A calamity now overtook him of the most grievous as well as unexpected description, which all his religion and philosophy were in vain exerted to surmount, and which fell with additional weight from being so shortly preceded by the loss of his brother. This was the death of his son, Mr. Richard Burke, on the 2d of August, 1794, at the early age of thirty-six" (Prior, "Life of Burke," p. 395). Burke's grief was extreme. His bodily powers rapidly declined. "He never afterwards could bear to look toward Beaconsfield Church, the place of interment; nor was this beloved son for any length of time ever absent from his mind excepting when engaged in literary composition, which therefore became rather a relief than labor" (Prior, p. 404).

36 10. **In this hard season.** "There was no period of our history at which there was greater distress or greater difficulty and dismay than in 1795. At that period there was published by Mr. Burke, a gentleman of no ordinary or doubtful authority, a book, every point and sen-

tence of which was questioned at the time, but the truth of which was subsequently most fully established" (Canning, "On Country Banks," Feb. 13, 1821). The work referred to was "Thoughts and Details on Scarcity," November, 1795.

37 6. **This prescription.** Burke's political philosophy rested upon **Prescription** as "the most solid of all titles, not only to property, but what is to secure that property, to government." Prescription is "accompanied with another ground of authority in the constitution of the human mind, **Presumption,**" that is, in favor of an established order.

37 15. **Novels.** In civil law a *novel* is a new or supplemental constitution or decree; one of the novel constitutions of certain Roman emperors, so called because they appeared after the authentic publications of law made by these emperors ("Century"). The body of law called Justinian is formed of novels together with the institute, code, and digest.

37 29. "Templum in modum arcis": said by Tacitus ("Hist.," bk. v) of the temple at Jerusalem, — "The temple itself was in the nature of a citadel."

37 31. Sion or Zion, the holy hill of Jerusalem, the center of Hebrew worship. Always written *Sion* by Milton and Burke.

38 4. "The great **Bedford Level,** which comprises upwards of 300,000 acres and extends into six counties, with its principal area in Cambridgeshire, is the largest tract of fen land in the kingdom. It is divided by the farmers into two parts — the marsh land and the fen land. By marsh lands are meant low tracts gained from the sea, either by the gradual silting up of estuaries, or by embankments artificially raised for the double purpose of encouraging reclamation by the process of warping, and of protecting from the sea the lands enclosed within them. By fen land is meant land rich in alluvial deposit, reclaimed from its former state of moor and morass by drainage, by protection from the sea by means of banks, and by the embankment of its rivers. On the maps the great level of the Fens looks like an enlargement of the Wash; in reality, it more closely resembles a sea of land lying between the Wash and the irregular coast-line which seems to be formed round it by highlands in Norfolk, Suffolk, Cambridge, Hunts, Northampton, and Lincoln" (Duke of Bedford, "The Story of a great Agricultural Estate," p. 34).

38 9. **Frank-pledge,** or frithborh: a Saxon pledge or surety for the good behavior of freemen; specifically an early English system by which ten men, the members of each tithing (or decennary) composed of ten households, were associated in common responsibility for one another.

38 18. "Æneid," ix, 448, 449, — "While the house of Æneas shall occupy the immovable rock of the Capitol, and the Roman citizen shall bear sway."

39 18. **Ça ira,** Fr., = "that shall go"; these were the opening words of a popular song of the French Revolution. So Thackeray writes in the "Four Georges" of the "French Revolutionists whose ragged legions . . . are trampling down the old world to the tune of *Ça ira.*" To those who in Paris came to lament with him over the misery of the American troops at Valley Forge, Benjamin Franklin cheerfully and happily replied, "Ça ira, Ça ira" (it will all come right at last). These words were cherished in the memory of Frenchmen and made world-famous in the Revolution.

39 19. **Bedford House.** The whole north side of Bloomsbury Square was formerly occupied by Southampton House, built after the designs of Inigo Jones by the Earl of Southampton. It changed its name to **Bedford House** upon the marriage of William Russell to Lady Rachael Wriothesley, coheiress of Thomas Wriothesley, last Earl of Southampton. Lord William Russell passed this house on the way to the scaffold and was for a moment unmanned by the recollection of his domestic happiness. Recovering himself, he said, "The bitterness of death is now past." The house was destroyed in 1800. The *old* Bedford House Strand, on the site of the present Southampton Street, was pulled down in 1704.

40 4. **Nimrod.** Burke's allusion is a twofold one, to Nimrod as "a mighty *hunter* before the Lord," and as the founder of Babel (Gen. x, 8–10). Milton in "Animadversions" writes: "Our just parliament will deliver you from your Ephesian beasts, your cruel Nimrods with whom we shall be ever fearless to encounter."

41 1. **Douce humanité:** human kindness.

41 14. **Mauvais plaisant:** a practical joker.

41 30.

> And you all know, security
> Is mortal's chiefest enemy.
>
> "Macbeth," III, v, 32.

42 22. **Pretensions to literature:** notice Burke's characteristic modesty. Cf. p. 21, l. 14.

43 6. **Dephlegmated:** refined; rectified, as an acid or spirit.

Defecated: unmixed, unmitigated, — "The Penal colonies have been the seats of simple *defecated* crime" (Hare, "Guesses at Truth," vol. i, p. 92).

43 9. **"Compunctious visitings of Nature."** "Macbeth," I, v, 46.

43 13. **Prorogation.** The figure is, of course, derived from the "prorogation" of Parliament.

44 14. **James Harrington** (1611–77) was the author of "Oceana," a work on the theory of the state, in which after the fashion of the time he seeks to describe an ideal commonwealth — perfect and immortal — in the manner of Plato's "Republic" and Bacon's "New Atlantis" and More's "Utopia." Harrington's work was at first suppressed by order of Cromwell, but finally appeared in 1656 dedicated to the Protector. It exhibits a plan of republican government, with excessive admiration for the republic of Venice. Burke probably refers to it in this connection because of its recommendation of an agrarian law limiting the portion of land held by any one person to that yielding a revenue of £2000.

44 18. **Emmanuel Joseph Sieyès** (1748–1836) received his education from the Jesuits, and was appointed Vicar-general by the Bishop of Chartres. He prepared a sensational thesis upon the Third Estate in which he constructed, single-handed and at once, a programme for the Revolution. In 1789 he was a representative to the States-general. In the Reign of Terror he abjured his priestly title and declared that he would have no religion but love of country and of man, and no worship but liberty and equality. His constitutional views made him invaluable to the Revolution and to Napoleon. "What Burke really taught — taught with effect, and was borne out in teaching by the events of his time — was the weakness of paper constitutions. He is the antidote to Sieyès" (Goldwin Smith).

44 25. **"Boue de Paris"**: Paris mud.

44 31. **"Without breeches"**: see Sans-culottes.

45 11. The Constituent Assembly undertook to break up the old provinces and to divide France into Departments consisting of squares of equal size. Each Department was to be divided into nine districts upon the same mathematical principle. The re-division of France into Departments (the original proposition practically though not rigorously carried out) was completed in 1790.

45 27. **Inigo Jones** was born about 1572. He studied art in Italy, visited Denmark, where he is said to have designed two palaces, and accompanied Anne of Denmark to England. He was architect to the Queen and designed the decorations for court masques. He introduced into England the Palladian style of architecture. After the Civil War he was obliged to pay heavy fines as a "malignant courtier." He died in poverty in 1651.

"Covent Garden." Among the rewards of John Russell, Earl of Bedford, was the grant of Covent Garden (formerly Convent Garden)

and the Seven Acres (now called Long Acre). After the dissolution of the monasteries the "Garden of Westminster" was given by Edward VI to his uncle, the Lord Protector Somerset, after whose attainder it reverted to the crown, and then was granted to the Earl of Bedford. One of the buildings erected by Inigo Jones for Francis, fourth Earl of Bedford, was the church of St. Paul's, Covent Garden, destroyed by fire in 1795. A mansion close by was built for the Earl of Orford, another of the race of Russell, and who fought the battle of La Hogue (May 19, 1692).

In Covent Garden were the celebrated coffee-houses 'Will's,' 'Tom's,' and 'Button's.' Here, too, were the Covent Garden Theatre, built in 1732, and the Drury Lane Theatre, opened in 1663.

45 30. **Lixiviated**: formed into lye. Latin, *lixivium*, lye.

45 31. **"Academie del Cimento"**: a celebrated Florentine Academy founded in 1657 for the advancement of physical science, by Leopold de Medicis. In 1667 the academy published the results of experiments with projectiles. Here, of course, Burke is using the name antiphrastically, *Cimento* being equivalent to *cement* (mortar).

45 32. **"Per antiphrasin"**: by antiphrasis, a figure of speech by which words are used in a sense opposite to their proper meaning.

Guyton de Morveau (1737–1816), a French chemist who had made studies in phlogiston and crystallization, and who about the time of the writing of this "Letter" was perfecting the processes for the manufacture of gunpowder and saltpetre.

Jean Henri Hassenfrats (1755-1827), scientist and French revolutionist. He was a carpenter who developed an unusual aptitude for mathematics. He became an assistant to Lavoisier, in his laboratory, participated in the Revolution as a Jacobin, and in 1786 was made professor in the School of Mines. His chief service was the reorganization of the military schools. In the Reign of Terror he provided the materials of war.

46 8. **Primary assembly**: an assembly in which all the citizens have a right to be present and to speak, as distinguished from representative parliaments.

National guard: an armed force identified with the French revolutionary epoch, first formed in 1789, and called *garde bourgeoise*.

46 9. **Requisitioners**: those who seize upon property for the use of an army or the public service.

46 11. **Domiciliary visitation** is a visit to a private dwelling particularly for the purpose of searching it or inspecting it, under authority, as in police supervision ("Century Dict.").

46 12. **Assessors of the maximum**: the Law of the Maximum, fixing a maximum price at which articles of prime necessity should be sold, was passed by the National Convention May 3, 1793. It was actually put into operation in November, 1793, and was one of the principal means of enforcing the Reign of Terror. The scale fixed was too low to allow a profit, and the punishment of death was decreed, Sept. 29, 1793, for any violation of the law. Burke was therefore justified in mentioning the Maximum side by side with the guillotine as an engine of the Terror. The law was repealed Dec. 24, 1794.

47 11. **Marquis de Condorcet,** born in Picardy, 1743, was a many-sided intellect attracted to philosophy and literature and mathematics and social history. He was greatly admired by Turgot and Voltaire. He married the translator of Adam Smith's "Theory of Moral Sentiments," a sister of Marshal Grouchy. He was an enthusiastic democrat, and wrote many pamphlets and planned many constitutions. He was one of the secretaries of the Legislative Assembly. He voted Louis XVI guilty of conspiring against liberty, but stopped short of the death penalty. In consequence of his denunciation of the arrest of the Girondists, he was accused of conspiring against the Republic. He was concealed for a while in the house of a Madam Bernet; but wandered out, was captured, and committed suicide in prison. His essay, on the "Progress of the Human Spirit," was written while hiding from Robespierre.

47 14. **Apprentices** in old English law were barristers of less than sixteen years' standing. Sergeants were lawyers of high rank appointed by writ or patent from the crown.

47 18. "Look at that Tuileries and Tuileries Garden. Silent all as Sahara; none entering save by ticket! They shut their Gates, after the Day of the Black Breeches; a thing they had the liberty to do. However, the National Assembly grumbled something about Terrace of the Feuillants, how said Terrace lay contiguous to the back entrance to their salle, and was partly *National* property; and so now National Justice has stretched a Tricolor riband athwart it, by way of boundary-line, respected with splenetic strictness by all Patriots. It hangs there that Tricolor boundary-line; carries 'satirical inscriptions on cards,' generally in verse; and all beyond this is called 'Coblentz,' and remains vacant; silent as a fateful Golgotha; sunshine and umbrage alternating on it in vain" (Carlyle, "French Revolution," vol. ii, p. 194).

47 19. **Canaille**: literally, pack of hounds, used to signify a rabble, a low crowd, a mob.

47 24. The title **"Marquis of Tavistock"** has existed in the Russell

family since May 11, 1694, when William, the fifth Earl of Bedford, was raised to the dignities of Marquis of Tavistock and Duke of Bedford.

47 34. **Legendre,** a mathematician of distinguished rank, born in 1752, was one of the three members of the council established to introduce the decimal system, and he was a member of the commission appointed to determine the length of the meter. He assisted in the formation of the great French tables of logarithms of numbers, sines and tangents, and natural sines. He died at Paris, Jan. 10, 1833.

48 3–14. One of the gravest faults of Burke's style is its occasional descent into the vulgar and unclean. He also holds his figures too long, and realizes them too completely. The quotation from Pope is apt, and in the application of it there is humor and there is telling force. But, not content with his success, Burke heaps upon it the grossness of the shambles, and exhibits the ducal rumps, sirloins, and briskets, and inquires how the victim tallows in the cawl. It is lines like these that caused the Duke of Leeds to style the "Letter" "Billingsgate in buskins."

48 7. **Charing Cross**: the heart of London, where anciently stood the village of Charing.

48 15. Pope, "Essay on Man," I, 83.

48 25. The **portrait** to which Burke refers was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds. It is now in the National Gallery. After the court-martial Reynolds painted Keppel's portrait five times.

48 32. **Augustus Keppel,** Viscount Keppel (1725–86), the uncle of the Duke of Bedford, entered the navy in 1735, was sent out as commodore to the Mediterranean to treat with the Dey of Algiers, and in 1754 to take command of the ships on the North American station. He attached himself to the political party of the Marquis of Rockingham. In 1776, on the probability of war with France, "he was asked by the king in person to undertake the command of the Channel fleet." He was promoted to be admiral of the blue Jan. 29, 1778, and made commander-in-chief of the grand fleet March 22, 1778. He engaged the French fleet July 27, with results that caused him to be charged with not marshalling his fleet, going into the fight in an unofficer-like manner, scandalous haste in quitting it, running away, and not pursuing the flying enemy, — each charge a capital offense. He was tried and the charge pronounced "malicious and ill-founded." The popular enthusiasm over the vindication of Keppel as "a judicious, brave, and experienced officer" was so great that bonfires blazed, publicans painted Keppel's head on their signs, and rioters tore down the admiralty gates and smashed the windows of the official residences.

He died Oct. 2, 1786, unmarried, and the titles Viscount Keppel and Baron Elden became extinct.

50 18. The first Earl of Albemarle (grandfather of Lord Keppel) was Arnold Joost van Keppel, who was descended from Walter van Keppel, Lord of Keppel in the low countries. He came to England with William of Orange (1688) as a page of honor.

50 25.

> We marry
> A gentle scion to the wildest stock.
>
> "Winter's Tale," IV, iv, 93.

51 17. **"Fools aspiring to be knaves."** Pope, "Epi. to Sat.," I, 164.

52 2. **Duke de la Rochefoucauld,** known in his youth as Count de la R., and from 1767 to 1783 as Duke de Liancourt, was a French publicist who was deputy to the assembly of notables in 1788, and to the States-general in 1789. He presided over the constituent assembly in the night of Aug. 4, 1789, when the abolition of titles of nobility was voted.

52 3. **Viscount de Noailles** (1756–1804) was a brother-in-law of Lafayette. He fought in the American War. He was elected in 1789 to the States-general and proposed the abolition of the privileges of the nobility. He presided over the constituent assembly in 1791.

Charles Maurice Talleyrand de Perigord (1754–1838) entered the States-general as one of its leaders. He successfully urged the clergy to yield to the demands of the commons that the three estates should meet together. Although an Abbé and Bishop of Autun, he attacked the rights and privileges of the clergy, and proposed a scheme (Oct. 10, 1789) by which the landed property of the church should be confiscated by the state. He is therefore called by Burke "the false Perigord."

53 1. **Henri de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscomte de Turenne** (1611–75), a famous French general, who was created a marshal of France, May 16, 1643.

François Henri de Montmorency-Boutteville, Duc de Luxembourg (1628–95), was made marshal of France in 1675. He was the comrade of the great Condé.

Louis François, Duc de Bouflers (1644–1711), served under Turenne in Holland, and was raised to the rank of marshal of France in 1693.

53 2. **Jean Baptiste Colbert** (1619–83) became in 1669 minister of commerce, the colonies, and the King's palace, and worked great financial reforms in France. He established the French marine, naval and mercantile.

53 3. **François Michel le Tellier, Marquis de Louvois** (1641–91), was secretary of war, and organizer, after the peace of Aix la Chapelle, of the French army.

The **Lamoignons** are a Nivernaise family with many noble branches, — the Basvilles, the Coursons, the Blancmesnils, and the Malesherbes. They have held their fief of Lamoignon since the thirteenth century. Guillaume de L. (1617–77) was advocate, counsellor, *maitre des requêtes*, and president of the Fronde parliament. His great work was the unification and coördination of the laws of France. His son Nicolas (1648–1724) was a distinguished lawyer and pupil of Colbert.

53 4. **Henri François D'Aguesseau** (1668–1751) was chancellor of France, and worked reforms in the execution of the laws that constitute an epoch in the history of French jurisprudence. His father was councillor of state.

53 5. **Charles Pichegru** (1761–1804), commander-in-chief of the united armies of the Rhine and Moselle, conqueror of Holland, and a leader of the extreme revolutionary party.

Jean Baptiste Jourdan (1762–1833), head of the army of Sambre-et-Meuse (1794) and marshal of France.

53 6. **Antoine Joseph Santerre** (1752–1809), a French general and violent revolutionist.

Barthelemi-Gabriel Rolland d'Erceville, a French magistrate, born in 1734, executed April 20, 1794, at Paris. He was president of the *Chambre des requêtes*. He was distinguished by his zealous prosecution of the Jesuits, and contributed greatly to the destruction of their society. He was arrested during the Terror and condemned to death by the revolutionary tribunal.

53 7. **Antoine Joseph Gorsas,** journalist and publicist, was born at Limoges, March 24, 1752, and guillotined at Paris, Oct. 7, 1793. He founded the "Courrier de Versailles," afterwards called "Courrier des 83 departements" (July 5, 1789–June 2, 1793), one of the most vociferous and vehement of the revolutionary journals, replete with anecdotes and picturesque details. He was elected to the National Convention for the department of Seine et Oise. He was an ardent partisan of Brissot.

Jean François Reubell (or Rewbell), born at Colmar, Oct. 8, 1747; died at Colmar, Nov. 23, 1807. In 1789 he was chosen by the *tiers état* as deputy to the States-general. In 1791 he was president of the National Assembly, and voted for the death of the King.

Lazare Nicolas Marguerite Carnot (1753–1823) was returned to the National Assembly for the Pas de Calais in 1791, and he became a

member of the Committee of Public Safety under Robespierre. He proposed the seizure of the property of the church, and he proposed to arm 30,000 sans-culottes with pikes, and to destroy all the citadels in France, and voted for the overthrow of the nobility and the execution of the King. In 1795 he became one of the five directors of the Republic, and projected a "Plan for the Invasion of England." He pronounced himself as "the irreconcilable enemy of kings."

53 8. **Jean Lambert Tallien** (1769–1820), the son of the cook of the Marquis de Bercy, was educated by the generosity of the Marquis, and became a lawyer's clerk. At the outbreak of the Revolution he entered a printing office, and in 1791 was overseer of the composing-room of the *Moniteur*. From January to May, 1791, he placarded twice a week upon all the walls of Paris a large poster called "Ami des Citoyens." Aug. 10, 1792, he was appointed secretary to the revolutionary commune of Paris. He announced the massacres of September in the prisons. He was a vigorous Jacobin, defended Marat, voted for the execution of the King, and was elected a member of the Committee of General Security, Jan. 21, 1793.

George Jacques Danton (1759–94), a great revolutionary leader, was a member of the Committee of Public Safety, and voted for the death of the King.

53 25. **Great clerk**: see "Midsummer Night's Dream," V, i, 93.

53 27. **Hugo Grotius** (1583–1645) was born at Delft of a family which had entered Holland from France, where it had been of noble history. He was a great jurist, and more thoroughly studied the principles of jurisprudence than any writer before him.

53 33. **Condorcet** drafted an appeal to Holland in 1792. Burke errs in calling it an address to the "Batavian Republic," for the Republic did not exist until after the death of Condorcet, when it was formed by Reubell and Sieyès, in the spring of 1795. See "La Revolution Française en Hollande" [Le Grand], Paris, 1894.

54 7. **Prince of Orange**: William I of the Netherlands.

54 12. **His house.** William III, King of England (1688), had been made by the Dutch Republic stadtholder of the Netherlands (1672).

54 22. **Austrian Netherlands.** The provinces originally called the Spanish Netherlands were ceded to Austria by the treaty of 1713. They were conquered by France in 1794.